

rendered democratic. The law is not a code of abstractions residing in the minds of judges; it is merely the rules by which the people consent to be governed; that consent is denied if any officials can by enactment or interpretation impose laws which are beyond the regulated control of the majority.

It is peculiarly clear that the people can not yield up their sovereign power to a tribunal which is vested with authority not only to limit the action of other departments, but also to determine finally its own jurisdiction and powers.

Many of us have resented the use by the president of the United States of the terms "mob rule" and "the caprice of majorities" in connection with the popular judgment. A later and more deliberate statement, worthy of his high station, is fit to be taught in our schools and worthy to be graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock forever. At Chicago on the 9th of March, President Taft said:

"I fully and freely admit and assert that when the American people have had time to learn all the facts and have had time to consider their bearing, their deliberate judgment is a wiser and a better guide to be followed by the state than the judgment of the most experienced statesman, the most learned jurist, the most profound student of history. In this proper sense, the voice of the people is nearer to the voice of God than any other human decision."

We join the president in deprecating ill-considered and passionate action by the majority as well as by the individual. We may put our whole policy upon the foundation he has thus laid, and let our policies abide the test he has so ably defined.

If popular sovereignty is a false foundation it cannot stand. If the foundation be true, we should build upon it fearlessly and work out our destiny as free men.

I doubt if any can foresee the wonderful possibilities of a republic thus organized and a citizenship thus trained to the determination of its own fate.

Up to this time our laws and institutions and even our very civilization have been moulded for the aggrandizement of wealth over manhood. It has been an artful government by minorities, never has selfishness so dominated civilization; never has greed been so defiant of the rights of man. It demands that the people cease to annoy it with laws and regulations; even that agitation be stopped lest business, the process of gain, be disturbed. Graft above has created graft below, and demoralization and dishonesty in public and business life have been the inevitable results.

How heavy is the price we have paid for material supremacy! We feel that we are in the grip of power rather than of reason, that riches are more esteemed than intellect, and that our civilization is mastered by sordid leadership. We miss in our national life the precious signs of enlightened progress. Where are the great men of letters, painters, sculptors, the inspiring musicians, actors, poets, teachers and philosophers? Instead of these we look up to monstrous fortunes and to sumptuous palaces built by the masters of craft and cunning, cruel in their rapacity, defiant of laws, devoid of noble aspirations and patriotism.

Opposite this picture, I wish to paint another from remote antiquity which may remind us how low we have fallen in this boasted age of progress.

Twenty-four hundred years ago, there existed the only pure democracy which the ages have produced. It was the republic of Athens which shines like a great bar of light across the almost universal blackness of the past.

In this attic commonwealth, the people in mass made their laws, elected their officers and administered their government. They sat as judges and jurors in great courts of the people. Out of the public treasury, the citizens received payment for their public duties sufficient to provide against want and some of the great men of the day lived upon the allowances of the state. Wealth was compelled to provide feasts and games for the public and no one was ashamed of the humble life.

For 100 years this republic produced the greatest men and the greatest deeds recorded in the history of mankind. Pericles, the leading statesman of the world, vied with Aristides the Just, and Themistocles. In drama the names of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides still stand as towering monuments, and Aristophanes launched his ridicule at the people of his city, who smilingly rewarded him with a crown of the sacred olive. The perfection of historic annals was reached by Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon. Socrates, esteemed the greatest

man of all times, moved among associate philosophers of vast learning and genius. Then arose upon the Acropolis the wonders of architecture, the Odeon, the Propylea and the sublime Parthenon, patterns for ages to come. No human hand has ever matched the divine skill of Phidias; yet the fifty giant statues which rose about the Parthenon were so equal in merit that the hand of Phidias could not be distinguished from that of his marvel-working associates. Painting rose to heights hitherto unknown in the hands of Polygnotus, Apollodorus and Zeuxis. This was the period of Marathon and Salamis which proved to the world that generals and admirals elected by ballot in a single city could drive back the invading hosts of Asia.

So marvelous was the intellectual superiority of this Athenian democracy that an English scientist has declared the average ability of the Athenian race to have been as much above that of the present English race as the English race is above the African negro or the Australian savage.

Such was the magic power of democracy in Athens! I do not know whether democracy produced these conditions or whether the greatest men of history created a democracy, but this fact no denial or explanation will dim that the most resplendent period of human manhood was the century of Athenian democracy.

Shall we despair of creating, under a renewed democracy a civilization which shall be even superior to that of Athens? I believe with a high faith that when democracy shall once supplant the plutocracy of the present, our republic will spring into unexampled splendor. To accomplish this, I know it is necessary that our civilization should be attacked at its roots. We have glorified selfishness; we must debase it. Our civilization rests upon greed; it is for us to place it upon justice, mercy and love. Against the forces of wealth we now set the godlike function of service; service of man to man, man to government and government to man.

I can well speak of the merits of such service, for we gather to honor a man who has set the highest example in our history of life devotion to the interests of mankind. He stands today unexampled in the history of modern times, as a leader who has revolutionized the thought of the people under repeated defeats as a candidate for public office. We do not realize his full measure until other candidates for leadership are placed at his side. If he leads there is no thought of betrayal. I honor him because he has brought into the public life a tone or morality which has even now ripened into public sentiment; in his presence corruption slinks away like the jackal at the scent of the lion. Wherever he treads, flowers of justice, or probity, of piety and kindness spring up to bless his footsteps and give sweetness to his memory. His service to man is unpurchasable, his patriotism towers above a lofty ambition; time but emphasizes his loyalty, devotion and integrity, and through his virtues he wields as a private citizen more power over the destiny of our land than all the officials in the republic.

I entertain an ever increasing faith in the efficacy of direct popular government. I believe that a future may be opened to us which the mind of man has not yet conceived, when politics, statesmanship and citizenship shall be deemed as sacred as the tenets of religious faith. In government, as in science, dauntless experiment shall unfold the truth and the boast of the statesman shall be, "I am an endless seeker with no past at my back."

Under the enlarging influence of the general study of public affairs, the dominion of wealth may be ended even with the consent of the wealthy. I conceive the time when poverty will be treated as a curable disease of the body politic; when the church may become God's tool to lift the state above the level of selfishness; when capital and labor expand and prosper together in new industrial co-operation; when the army and militia, now created for public slaughter, become the nucleus of a mightier industrial army for the physical development of our land; when great wealth shall deem it a privilege to lay its surplus upon the people's altar; when the land and its bounty may be opened to new fruitfulness and brought to the service of the needy; when the boundless wealth of the public domain shall flow into the public treasury; when politics shall become the noblest occupation of man, public service the highest reward of an exalted life, and civic virtue the supreme accomplishment.

MR. PETTIGREW'S SPEECH

In his closing speech Mr. Bryan made the following reference to Senator Pettigrew: Sena-

tor Pettigrew is one of the representatives of the north and west and one whose right to speak for the great agricultural section west of the Mississippi can not be questioned. He has enjoyed distinction in two parties. He is one of the men who came to us from the republican party in 1896 and who has remained to their own credit and to the great credit of our party. Senator Pettigrew had two great obstacles to overcome. He was not only a republican but he was born in New England, but he overcame both and is a progressive among the progressives. If any of you have thought him radical, I am sure that his speech has made me seem quite conservative by contrast. I think I shall take him to New York whenever I go and use him to persuade that section to accept the more moderate proposals that I have been making. I am glad you have had a chance to hear Mr. Pettigrew. He is looking ahead and pointing out difficulties that we have yet to meet, and we have many. "Each victory will help us some other to win"—each advance brings us within sight of new evils to be remedied. It has required great moral courage for Senator Pettigrew to make the fight that he has; in fact, the speakers who have appeared before us all illustrate the possession to a large degree of this highest of qualities—moral courage.

Former Senator R. F. Pettigrew, of South Dakota, spoke as follows:

The tariff is a favor granted by congress to the few to plunder the many.

The pretext that tariff is levied by congress to protect American labor from the competition of the pauper labor of Europe is a lie.

The steel trust employs 200,000 men; 160,000 of these men were born in other lands. They come from the lowest and most exploited and most oppressed of the European labor markets, and they are imported as contract laborers in violation of the anti-contract labor laws of congress, a violation connived at and assisted by a corrupt republican administration of the government.

These men work twelve hours a day, seven days in a week, for a wage of 14 cents per hour. They work in a chain, are speeded by the most competent. When worn out they are thrown into the scrap heap without hope for the future or pleasure in contemplating the past. They are slaves chained to a machine.

The condition in the coal mines of Ohio and Pennsylvania are even worse than in the steel industry. There is no tariff on labor. The duty of democracy is to free these slaves and by law recognize the obligation of society to its weakest and poorest members, rather than as heretofore leaving them to be exploited by the rich and strong.

The next great issue it is the duty of democracy to solve is that the tollers of the republic shall receive as compensation for their toil all that they produce, and that the wealth of the nation is redistributed to those who have produced it, and enact such laws as will make it impossible that the great wealth produced by toil shall hereafter be appropriated by the crafty and corrupt.

Read the following letter which Lincoln wrote to William P. Elkin on November 21, 1864: "I see in the near future a crisis approaching that unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country. As a result of war, corporations have been enthroned, and an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all the wealth is aggregated in few hands and the republic is destroyed. I feel at this moment more anxiety for the safety of my country than ever before, even in the midst of war. God grant that my suspicions may prove groundless."

It has been well said by the famous English writer and philanthropist, Mr. Stead, that the modern business world has adopted a new golden rule, as follows:

Dollars and dimes, dollars and dimes;
To be without money, is the worst of crimes.
To keep all you get, and get all you can,
Is the first and the last, and the whole duty of man.

That this golden rule has been adopted by the so-called business men of the United States is evidenced by what has been accomplished in the distribution of the wealth produced by the great tolling masses of this country.

In 1890 the progressive senators in the senate of the United States secured an amendment to the senate bill providing for the taking of the census of that year by which the enumerators were required under the head of "Farms, Homes and Mortgages," to secure from each person